The following article is one of the key chapters in a new book, "American Might and Soviet Myth," by Jameson G. Campaigne, editor of the Indianapolis Star. The Campaigne book, price $3.95, is published by Henry Regnery Company, 14 East Jackson, Chicago 4, Illinois.

HUMAN EVENTS

Vol. XVII, No. 38 — Section V

September 22, 1960

The Soviet Economic Threat: What Is It?

By JAMESON G. CAMPAIGNE

THERE IS AN old saying that there are three kinds of lies—lies, damn lies, and statistics. But there are actually four kinds of lies. The fourth kind of lie is the half-truth.

Early in 1959 I received from the State Department a booklet entitled *The Communist Economic Threat.* This booklet was sent to me in my capacity as a newspaper editor, and its purpose was to persuade me, and through me the public, that the Communists in the Kremlin were using "a new weapon, economic penetration. It could be," said the booklet, "the most dangerous of all weapons in the Communists' varied arsenal."

Then it went on to document what it termed the "immensity" of this Communist "economic warfare." "Since 1954," it stated, "the Soviet bloc countries have concluded agreements with eighteen of the less well developed countries outside the Soviet orbit which provide for the extension of an estimated $2,400,000,000 in intermediate and long term credits and grants for goods and services from the bloc."

Now that sounds indeed like rather formidable competition in foreign aid spending, doesn't it? But it is a half-truth, and when you get the other half, you see that it is a lie.

Here is the other half of that half-truth.

First, the United States has, during that same period, given away and loaned more than $24,000,000,000 to over sixty countries in the world. That is ten times the Soviet's "estimated" program. In foreign aid we are, therefore, doing ten times as much as the Soviets.

But that is only part of the other half of the truth. Most American aid is given away, while most of the Soviet aid is straight credits at rates of interest from 2 to 2½ per cent.

Furthermore, the "$2,400,000,000" Soviet credit program [1955-58 inclusive] is figured at the official Soviet rate of exchange, which is four rubles to a dollar. But the hard fact is that the Soviet official rate is only a bad joke in world money markets. Its actual worth is a fraction of the official claim.*

The myth of the Soviet ruble is easily exploded. The Perrera Company in New York, which deals in foreign exchange, states that a dollar equals twenty-five to fifty rubles in real buying power, depending on the commodity. Also there are very few people in the international market for rubles. Let us show the maximum charity to the Soviet foreign aid program, however, and figure that twenty-four rubles will buy one dollar. What do we find then? We find that at twenty-four rubles to a dollar instead of the official four, we have cut the dollar amount of the Soviet program down to one sixth of what is claimed. So the $2,400,000,000 [four-year] Soviet program becomes $400,000,000. This means that the Soviet Union actually has a program of spending $100,000,000 a year in gifts and loans. So now, after revealing a little more of the other half of the truth, the Soviet "economic threat" is sixty times less in dollars than our foreign aid program!

WE MUST NOT stop here. The State Department booklet says "only about thirty-eight per cent of the credits (for those eighteen countries) have been drawn." Therefore, the program of the Kremlin, estimated at $2,400,000,000 and found to be only $400,000,000 in actual dollars, in reality has provided only 38 per cent of that amount or $152,000,000 in four years. So what do we find now? We find that the "economic threat" of the Soviet Union has diminished to $38,000,000 a year, or an infinitesimal six one hundreths of our own program. That, fellow Americans, is peanuts, as anyone who reads the atronomical figures of our budget must know. And yet we are implored to increase our already crippling expenses for foreign aid to meet this puny threat!

Furthermore, to compare this expenditure of the Soviet Union to our own foreign spending in any regard is grotesque. Private American charitable institutions donate approximately $500,000,000 every year to foreign countries. *American tourists* alone spend over $2,000,000,000 a year in foreign lands. If the United States government abolished its entire foreign aid program, tourists and private charities would still be pouring more dollars into foreign countries *each year* than the Soviet government claims to spend in four! In fact, American tourists and American charitable agencies spend sixty-six times as much as the Soviet Union, without costing the United States taxpayer a cent. In addition, there are billions of dollars invested in foreign countries by American private industry and business which must also be added to the total of non-government "foreign aid" from the United States.

In the last ten years, almost $300,000,000,000 (yes, that is billions) has been sent abroad by the United States. Purchases of foreign goods have amounted to $190,000,000,000. Private donations to religious and charitable organizations have totalled $7,000,000,000. Private investments in foreign lands have come to $27,000,000,000. The rest, $75,000,000,000 to $80,000,000,000, has been government gifts and loans.

The total foreign trade done by the Soviet Union

*See "Exaggerated Rubles Mask Soviet Failures," by Alice Widener, *Indianapolis Star*, February 1, 1959.

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in 1957 was 33,000,000,000 rubles. It is not appreciably more today. Translated into real dollars at the generous figure of twenty-four rubles to a dollar, that would be a total Soviet trade of $1,387,000,000. But 24,500,000,000 rubles-worth of this trade is entirely inside the Soviet bloc! Trade with non-Communist nations was only 7,000,000,000 rubles a year or $290,000,000. That is less than France spends in Africa every year. Free world trade with Asia and Africa alone is $23,000,000,000 a year or ninety-two times as much as total Soviet trade with the entire free world!

So what do we find when we get the whole other side of the half-truth about Communist "economic warfare"? We find that effectively there is no such thing. We find that American private investment, charitable giving, and tourists are doing one hundred times more than the Soviet Union is doing, or can do in any forseeable future, in providing economic strength for foreign countries. We find that Americans are being lied to about the nature of the Soviet threat. We find that half-truths, which are more dangerous than lies because they are more easily believed, are being used to frighten the public into maintaining the security and power of the people whose private interests are entrenched in the foreign aid program. These people's jobs depend on the program. Naturally they want to see it grow. It would be very hard to make them admit that they are, in fact, simply exploiting their fellow-citizens.

BACK IN DECEMBER, 1958, I wrote an editorial called "Foreign Aid for Communists." From the Library of Congress I had received a breakdown of the expenditures of the United States government in countries under Communist control. What struck me most about this breakdown was the large sums which had been siphoned off to Communist countries since 1955. For instance, in 1955 the United States provided $2,374,000 to Communist Czechoslovakia. Between 1954 and 1958 we sent $17,339,000 to Communist Germany. In 1955 we sent $3,496,000 to Communist Hungary. But even worse, in 1957, after the tragic end of the Hungarian revolt against Communism, we sent $10,166,000 to Communist Hungary—for what purpose?—as a reward for the slaughter of their countrymen?

Between July and December of 1957 we sent Communist Poland $49,890,000. More went there in 1958. And as we have seen, our old friend Tito, the dictator of Yugoslavia, has received almost $1,000,000,000 since 1946 with $402,000,000 of it being sent between 1955 and 1958. Yugoslavia got, in real dollars, about $27,000,000 from the Soviet Union in the same period.

The officials of the International Cooperation Administration became excited when the editorial prepared from this Library of Congress material was printed in the *Congressional Record*, and pointed questions were asked about aid to Communist countries. During the 1959 session of Congress, a nine-page "rebuttal" was circulated among members of the House and Senate Foreign Relations Committees. Stress was laid on the fact that in many cases, Albania's for instance, all American aid was given in 1946 and 1947, right after the war when the Communists were still "our allies." It was also pointed out that in the other cases, the bulk of the United States aid was sent to Communist bloc nations in 1946 and 1947. This does not alter the fact that we gave them the money. We also gave about $500,000,000 directly to the Soviet Union at the same time. What this fact actually indicates is the fatal and now almost incredible blindness in this country, which did not realize until 1948 that the Soviet Union was dangerous to our national survival.

ICA officials also pointed out that at the time aid was given to Czechoslovakia—in 1946, for instance—that country was not under Communist domination. Soviet troops occupied Czechoslovakia, and the argument for foreign aid is that it is successful in keeping free countries out of the Soviet orbit. Did the $20,000,000 we gave to Albania keep her out of Communism's grip? Did the $138,000,000 we gave to Czechoslovakia prevent the murder of Jan Masaryk or prevent Communism from seizing the country? Did our aid make Poland free from Communism in 1947? Let's not be silly.

All told, we have provided more than $2,000,000,000 in American money to the Soviet bloc since 1946. That is more than enough to finance the entire Soviet "economic offensive" against the free world.

ICA officials say that most of this money went to help "the people," not the governments of these countries. That is simply nonsense. Does it help the people of East Germany or Hungary or Poland when we keep their governments financially strong?

Every expenditure we undertake within those countries relieves their governments of the necessity of spending money they might otherwise have had to spend. It should be obvious that by bailing out Tito year after year from Communist-made economic and social perils, we have strengthened the continuance of his tyranny. We have actually sided with him against the people of Yugoslavia. Over and over again our government-to-government system of aid causes us to assist dictators in further crushing and exploiting some of the most subjugated peoples of the globe. Our absurd and stupid policies obscure our national image in the eyes of other nations everywhere. And, most dangerously of all, they strengthen the enemy and weaken our own power to survive. In this period our gold reserves are drained. Our economists point with anxiety to our heavy taxation which makes it difficult for America to find the capital necessary to expand our economy to the degree necessary to absorb the post-war population as it comes on the labor market. Our economic vitality is endangered by crushing taxation. Why? So we can send $80,000,000 to Laos in time for the Communists to win another election?

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Human Events
THE WASHINGTON NEWSLETTER

Vol. XVII, No. 38 September 22, 1960 Section I — News

SWING VOTE: *"Me-Tooism" won't win it* ....(433)

KENNEDY: *"Resignation" remark unwise* (434)

JOE MARTIN: *Book raises House problems* (434)

STEVENSON: *Kennedy needs his following* (435)

UN SUMMIT: *Circus of violence?* .....(436)

The Big Bloc: Capitol Hill politicos fasten their expert eyes on a bloc of 15 million voters, which from recent election experience, seems most likely to swing victory in November.

Brushing aside the hackneyed emphasis of the "liberal" pro-Democratic pundits in the press on the "necessity" of Nixon's winning Democrats and "independents," the pros believe that Nixon needs only to retain a major portion of this 14 million-vote bloc to win the Presidency. They point to the statistics of general elections since 1940 to prove their point.

In their three defeats during the Forties, none of the Republican Presidential candidates obtained more than Willkie's approximately 22 million votes in 1940. Then came the big bonanza of 1952, when Ike was running; Dwight D. Eisenhower polled about 34 million votes. In short, 12 million Republican votes suddenly appeared. Where did they come from?

By any reasonable statistical explanation, they did not come from the pool of regular Democratic votes. For Stevenson in 1952 practically duplicated the largest vote—27 million—ever polled by Franklin D. Roosevelt. In face of this fact, it is hard to believe that any significant part of the 12 million bonanza came either from the regular Democrats or the so-called independents.

Who were they? Wayne Hood, Executive Director of the Republican National Committee, revealed the secret of this success in a statement in the New York *Times* on January 18, 1953: "The major point of campaign strategy [in 1952] was the decision to drop the 'me-too' approach that had cost the party dearly in previous campaigns; to pay less attention to the 'independent vote' and to concentrate on 'stay-at-homes' who had not been at the polls in previous elections. The stay-at-home voters outnumbered the independents by approximately 45 million to an estimated 3,000,000 to 4,000,000."

What brought the 12 million out? The personality of Ike, in part; the support of Taft (who jumped in when Ike was "running like a dry creek"); accumulation of discontent against the FDR and Truman Administrations; the conservative (comparatively) GOP image as against the "socialistic" New and Fair Deals, etc.

This bonanza increased in 1956. Ike upped his margin over the vote for Willkie to 14,000,000 as against his 12 million bulge in '52. The inability of the "liberal" Adlai to cut into the Big Bloc, plus his appeasement image, plus the Suez crisis, etc. conspired to create the Big Bloc of 14 million—now the guerdon sought by both parties. The Democrats fear and covet this bloc. Apparently recognizing the value of the Ike image, they are chary of directing their forensics at the President. The GOP counts on Ike's active support of Nixon in the campaign as a great asset; they recall how President Theodore Roosevelt went to bat and helped elect William Howard Taft in 1907.

But, over and above Ike's role, pros warn that the Nixon campaign should not relapse into the errors of Willkie and Dewey and "me-tooism"; should utilize the tremendous talent of conservative Barry Goldwater in the North as well as in the South; should attack the "liberal" facade of Kennedy—all in a big effort to retain the Big Bloc of the Fifties.

Dissenting Democratic Duo: Largely unmentioned by the press is the fact that two of the most respected members of the United States Senate—both Catholic Democrats from Northern industrial states—have not announced their support of Kennedy's candidacy. Senators Frank Lausche of Ohio and Thomas Dodd of Connecticut have gone about their post convention business without speaking out for the Massachusetts Senator.

The Washington *News* reported September 5 that Kennedy strategists admitted to an "oversight" in not asking Senator Lausche to campaign for the ticket when it was brought to their attention. The *News* was told by Bob Kennedy that Lausche would be contacted "immediately," and by Jack Kennedy himself. Although Lausche was unavailable for comment last week—he was touring the Ohio county fair circuit making nonpartisan speeches—his office told HUMAN EVENTS that the Senator had not been approached by the Kennedys and that he had no plans to announce his support of the ticket.

Lausche is considered a party "maverick" of conservative bent. He rates 81 *per cent "right" in his current ACA (Americans for Constitutional Action) voting record. His support of Kennedy in the toss-up-rated Buckeye State could mean the difference, as his personal following is large.*

The snub of Lausche recalls the disastrous event of 1916 when California's powerful GOP Senator Hiram Johnson, himself a party maverick, felt he

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was snubbed by Presidential candidate Charles Evans Hughes. Johnson refused to help Hughes carry California, which turned out to be the crucial state in electing Woodrow Wilson.

As for Senator Dodd, he was attending an inter-American conference in Mexico last week, but his office stated that he had not endorsed Kennedy and they knew of no plans to do so. Dodd had strongly favored Johnson's nomination and in his Los Angeles seconding speech he "prayerfully" beseeched the delegates to reconsider before stampeding to Kennedy. Few who know the staunchly anti-Communist Dodd doubt that he has strong reservations about Kennedy's ability to handle the Russians. He is extremely cool to Kennedy foreign policy svengalis Adlai Stevenson and Chester Bowles.

Labor Front: Despite the fact that every fact-finding board and arbitrator had ruled against the Transport Workers' demands, the Pennsylvania Railroad never had a chance in the strike of the union headed by tough Mike Quill, whose attitude is "to hell with employers and the general public." Under the law applying to railroad labor, strikers (after four days) could collect unemployment benefits up to $52 a week—tax free—and therefore could hold out indefinitely.

The railroad, on the other hand, was losing—counting loss of profits—perhaps as much as a million a week, even after collection of $600,000 a day in strike insurance. Quill obviously felt that stockholders would not very long "fight for principle" at that price.

Even the $600,000 a day strike insurance payments were not a certainty. Railroad unions have combined to ask the courts to declare them illegal. They are asking for $10 million in damages citing the payments to the Long Island Railroad in its recent strike. Labor's attitude: it's okay for unions to give financial aid to striking workers, but evil for employers to aid one another.

Remedy: dictatorial power of labor bosses must be reduced. Unemployment insurance should not be used as strike benefits.

Kennedy and Right-to-Work: Both Jack Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson have pledged "total implementation" of the radical platform their party adopted at Los Angeles. Speaking in conservative areas, however, the Democratic Presidential nominee hedges, saying that he would "make a judgment" when the time comes as to what legislation to push through.

Kennedy used this dodge when newsmen asked him if he would press for repeal of all state right-to-work laws, as the platform promises. Kennedy said he'd make up his mind after moving into 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, adding that no legislation to repeal the authorization has ever been introduced in Congress.

Kennedy was overlooking one bill that would repeal the laws, and he himself was co-sponsor of the measure. The bill, S. 1269, was introduced by Senator Clements and six other Democrats, including Kennedy, in 1955. It would eliminate in entirety Section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act, the very section which gives states the right to enact right-to-work laws.

Presidential Resignation?: Nelson Rockefeller, no longer pouting but proving himself an able team player in this campaign, scored a strong point against Jack Kennedy last week after the Democratic nominee's meeting with 400 Protestant ministers in Texas.

Nelson called Kennedy to task for "going further than I would have felt necessary" in stating his religious independence. "I don't know what he meant by resigning [the Presidency] if pressure [from the church] was put on," Rocky said.

Many now think that Kennedy's attempt to please the Protestant clergymen by going so far as to say he might resign the Presidency if a church-state conflict arose could turn out to be the biggest blunder of the campaign.

After the Texas meeting David Lawrence wrote: "The average man doesn't like the idea that anybody would even consider resigning the Presidency for any reason whatsoever—except possibly ill health. Nor is it deemed wise to admit that there is even a possibility of a decision arising in the Presidency, which, when passed on a religious viewpoint, could 'violate the national interest.' "

Independent Electors: Georgia Democrats, joined by quite a number of old line-crossing Republicans, made clear in a referendum that they would prefer their Presidential electors to be unpledged to either party Presidential slate. They won over a reportedly strong party organization attempt to win the referendum, or "straw vote" (as it was commonly called), by rallying the faithful for a slate pledged to the Kennedy-Johnson ticket.

This surprise outcome had little practical meaning since most of Georgia's 12 electors already are pledged to the regular party ticket. But it proves embarrassing for Governor Ernest Vandiver, who has announced his support for Kennedy and Johnson. It seems to be another indication of the stubborn resistance to the Kennedy-Johnson ticket in the South.

Joe Martin: Will former GOP House Leader Martin's new book—a sizzling attack on Ike, Nixon and other GOP leaders—have any effect on the developing campaign? The answer most given around Capitol Hill is "no," and a firm one at that.

Of course, the opening chapter of the book, *My First Fifty Years in Politics* (McGraw-Hill), contains pretty blunt criticism of the White House, Nixon and especially GOP Leader Halleck who won

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that hot caucus fight which ousted Joe back in '58. But some water has passed under the bridge since then. Many who had stood by Joe for re-election as Leader now concede that Halleck has done a creditable job, and the situation has proved better for rank-and-file House members than it was under Joe.

It is not surprising that many House members brush aside Joe's recriminations. They say, "Joe should have realized he was too old and on his way out—and he should have chosen his successor. He could have put over Richard Simpson [of Pennsylvania] without any trouble, and made his exit gracefully."

Oddly, many of those who helped Halleck to win in '58 were never entirely satisfied with him; his *modus operandi* since then has chilled quite a few others—he is not the most tactful chief to deal with. Now the Halleck dissenters are talking of another leader to replace Charlie. The man is up and coming Gerald Ford of Michigan. Ford is a favorite of Nixon. He has a good conservative voting record, is young, more stable than Halleck and while ambitious he has wide popularity on the GOP side of the House. Southerners notice that he has a good conservative record on state and local rights as against centralism.

This last point in his favor may have no little importance if, surprisingly, another movement for a turnover in leadership arises after the election. For there is not only an increased loyalty to the old conservative bi-partisan "coalition," but the thinking behind this goes even further. Old hands, speculating on a hair-line victory for the GOP House seats, question the desirability of the GOP's organizing the House, taking the Speakership and all the chairmanships of committees. They recall how they did this after their 1952 victory and how the Democrats won the House in 1954, thereby ousting all Republicans from control. Fruitless "musical chairs."

Why not real realignment between Northern and Southern conservatives? Why not a division of chairmanships between Democrats and Republicans of conservative complexion? What right-wing Republican really wants to put conservative Democrat Howard Smith out of his watchdog position as Chairman of the powerful Rules Committee?

And did not Representative Whitten (D.-Miss.) actually advance this "joint organization" idea in a memorable speech on the floor in the last session? These matters are discussed seriously among pros on Capitol Hill these days as the chances for GOP winning the House seem on the rise.

Sisterly Wisdom: Hearst columnist Ruth Montgomery last week divulged one of the more interesting sidelights of the budding Presidential campaign. The two McCarran sisters, daughters of the late Nevada Democratic Senator Pat McCarran, will work for Nixon's election. Miss Mary McCarran is a Washington stockbroker. The other McCarran daughter, Sister Margaret Patricia, teaches in a Catholic college in California and is a writer. Her critical study on Fabian Socialism is known to many conservatives.

Wrote Miss Montgomery of the political choice of the McCarran girls: "It would be natural to assume that the McCarran sisters are ardent supporters of John F. Kennedy. They share with him the same religion, the same family politics, and even the Irish heritage. Instead they are vehemently opposed to his election, and don't mind saying so."

Mary McCarran explained: "Senator Kennedy went to Ivy League schools and to the London School of Economics [he was instructed there by Marxist theorist Harold Laski—Ed], where he became indoctrinated with Fabian Socialism. The latter school was founded by the Fabians. Out of 97 recent socialistic measures before the Senate, Kennedy voted for 94 of them."

Stevenson: Adlai will campaign for Jack, of course, but that does not solve what may be one of the Kennedy ticket's most crucial problems—how to get the Stevenson followers not only voting but fighting for the Democratic nominee. It is no secret that the Stevenson-ites have remained very disgruntled with the Kennedy-Johnson ticket ever since the convention. The fact that the Stevenson demonstrators put on the most convincing show of enthusiasm in the Los Angeles arena presides ominously over the thinking of the Kennedy GHQ. If the Stevenson-ites sit on their hands, it means trouble, perhaps defeat, especially in key states such as New York and California.

The one decisive step which could capture the Stevenson vote is for Kennedy to openly pledge that he will name Stevenson Secretary of State if he wins. When the Massachusetts man was seeking the nomination last spring, he suggested that he might do so. But he has remained silent since nomination, a posture which the Stevenson following violently dislikes.

If Kennedy should yield to this pressure, he might well lose the chance to win many Republicans or independents whose votes he ardently covets. For Stevenson has become fixed as "Adlai the Appeaser" in the minds of many of these, who want a President to stand up against the aggression of Soviet Russia. In Democratic pro circles, this situation has become known as "The Decisive Dilemma," and pros agree that so far Kennedy has not done anything substantial to resolve it.

Friends of the Massachusetts Senator have apparently sought to allay Stevenson-ite resentment by pushing forward Congressman Chester Bowles as the predestined Secretary of State. Actually, Bowles is known among party heads as perhaps as appease-

HON. GORDON H. SCHERER, Member of Congress from Ohio: "Of the hundreds of publications that reach a Congressman's desk, I believe that HUMAN EVENTS is the most widely read and certainly one of the most respected on Capitol Hill. Many of us consider it 'must reading.'"

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ment-minded as Adlai; additionally, he is regarded as a firm partisan of the left wing of the party. But, as far as can be discovered, this gesture has not succeeded in placating the left wing. That sector of the Democratic party wants the arch-appeaser himself to guide foreign policy, and will accept no one else.

Capitol Camera: One reason Jack Kennedy is soft-peddling the defense issue this campaign: his own admission last April to Hearst editors that the Truman Administration is responsible for any "missile gap" that may exist. The Democratic nominee further admits that he had no "interest" in the problem during the early '50's.

• *Oregon's Senator Wayne Morse has pledged support to the Kennedy-Johnson ticket, but this is what the erratic solon was saying about Lyndon six years ago: "I am no longer a Republican, but there is a great difference between my position and joining the Democrats in the Senate. How could I follow the reactionary leadership of Democratic Leader Johnson of Texas?"*

• One almost "sure" Senate win for the GOP: Wyoming, where Republican Representative Keith Thompson is opposing Democrat Raymond Whitaker. Thompson easily beat Whitaker for the House in 1958, a disastrous year for Republicans across the nation. Democrat Whitaker glumly admits that he faces an "uphill fight."

• *The Democratic National Committee is running into extreme difficulty touching its old fat cats for campaign contributions. A typical reaction: "Let the little rich boy put up his own dough." Two leading California Democrats have turned down the job of state fund-raiser for Kennedy-Johnson. In desperation, the Democrats are planning a national door-to-door campaign to pick up "modest contributions."*

• Comment by leading foreign policy-defense strategist Robert C. Sprague: "It will take Kennedy or Johnson two years to get up to date on secret data to make proper decisions. 'Briefing' alone is inadequate. The difference between 'briefing' and blood, sweat and tears, is the difference between day and night." More reason for "not changing horses in mid-stream."

• *Moving into 40 key congressional districts to mobilize Republican workers are political veterans from the national Young Republican headquarters. Youthful politicos can get out the vote and win elections. Proof: in the recent special election in Pennsylvania's 17th District, a YR team made personal contact with more than half of the 11,755 registered Young Republicans in five weeks. The Republicans needed—and won—the votes.*

• Ralph de Toledano in his new Washington column last week criticized (1) Senator Kefauver for a smear attack on HUMAN EVENTS (see last week's issue) and (2) Senator Wayne Morse for his irresponsible arraignment of the Newhouse newspaper chain—both invectives delivered on the Senate floor. Toledano saw these Senators using their senatorial privileges to retaliate against periodicals which had attacked the Senators. The Toledano column, newcomer in the field, is distributed by King Features in a score of metropolitan papers across the country.

• *M. Stanton Evans, former Managing Editor of* HUMAN EVENTS *(1956-59), has been appointed Editor of the Indianapolis* News, *which he served for the past year as editorial writer and columnist. His promotion to the editorial chair of this metropolitan newspaper at the age of 26 is considered outstanding in the field of American journalism today.*

• Scientists in the Capital speculate: Moscow may announce that the Reds have sent a man into space —as a bombshell timed for the UN meeting.

Security for Soviets: As Nikita Khrushchev steamed toward our shores last week for his September 20 opening performance at the United Nations, State Department security officers and New York's police department girded for what could be the greatest security problem in the nation's history.

There is little doubt that a certain amount of violence—the police dare not predict how much—is in store with Khrushchev, Hungary's Kadar, and a host of other Red commisars running around Manhattan for two weeks. But the Iron Curtain Reds are only part of the problem.

The UN has received threats that the building will be blown up if Castro shows. Now that the Cuban is coming, clashes between his volatile supporters and opponents are seen as inevitable by New York's finest. Bomb threats also have been received from anti-Trujilloites should the Dominican dictator show up at the UN.

Another explosive factor is that Egypt's Nasser, in attending the UN sessions, will be making his first visit to the city with the world's largest Jewish population. Security precautions for this political all-star game will be the greatest in the UN's history, with no visitors allowed and even veteran newsmen required to carry special passes bearing their picture.

But authorities admit that maximum precautions can't negate the possibility of a major tragedy or incident, and the question arises: "If UN summit conferences are to become the political fad, would it not be better to move the whole shooting match onto a neutral island where blue helmeted UN security troops could guard the skins of the various dictators, thereby releasing New York's overburdened police and the USA of the responsibility?"

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HUMAN EVENTS
--- COMMENTARY

"Let's quit being nice about it. I'm tired of calling these people liberals. Liberals is a pretty nice word. Let's call them socialists, for that's what they are."

—SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER

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Vol. XVII, No. 38 — Section II

September 22, 1960

U.S. Buys Trouble With Foreign Aid

100 Million Tax Dollars Fuel Lumumba's Hate Binge

From the Chicago Tribune

Because the Congo is an unholy mess and Latin Americans show a tendency to rate Castro higher in their popularity polls than Uncle Sam, the State Department is passing the hat once more for fresh infusions of foreign aid. For the Congo, 100 million dollars is considered a starter, and for Latin America, 600 million.

C. Douglas Dillon, Undersecretary of State, who appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that Latin America was given over to "frustration and social unrest." He described the American assistance intended for that area as a cooperative program and one of self-help.

Senator Frank Church, the Democrats' boy orator, immediately displayed his imaginative powers by telling Mr. Dillon that what was needed in Latin America was a Marshall plan running from five to 10 years and costing no less than 10 billion dollars. Mr. Dillon responded demurely that the eventual costs "may be as much as you have in mind."

He said he did not seek a money authorization of such dimensions now because it would be a bad thing on psychological grounds. It might promote the thought that the United States was trying to buy Latin American favor.

If that isn't what the State Department is trying to do, it has more holes in its head than are already visible. But even if the purpose were admitted, there is little prospect that it will be realized. We tried the same thing in Laos, where 165 million dollars was laid out in five years and the entire army was put on the American payroll, with the result that an army rebellion recently overturned the friendly government and the rebels announced that the country henceforward would be neutralist and would stop fighting the Communists within it.

The notion that dollar handouts convert people to sympathy with us and keep them that way is a demonstrated delusion, yet upward of 10 billion dollars more, we are told, is to be sunk into an experiment to establish that although we are butting our heads against a wall, the wall really is not there.

"Our strength is being sapped by the paternalism of federal bureaucracy grown too big, usurpation of power by the Warren Court grown too mighty and force of labor leaders grown too arrogant."
Sen. Byrd
CONSERVATISM
A wise old owl sat in an oak
And as he sat the truth he spoke,
The more he speaks, the more we learn.
Let's thank the bird-a damned good turn.

If the Latin American fling is silly, the assumption of a similar responsibility in the Congo is plain idiocy. This equatorial country was vested with independence June 30 because the Belgians tired of criticism directed at their efforts across 80 years to pull it out of the jungle. The "government" that took over was controlled by a demagog with a strong Communist bias whose irresponsibility is not exceeded even by that of Castro.

The shameful treatment by the Congolese of Belgian men, women, and children who failed to get out in time has passed without a word of censure from Prime Minister Lumumba. Instead of being rebuked by Washington, this witch doctor in western dress got the red carpet reception and now is to be rewarded with 100 million tax dollars.

We are constantly hearing of a "revolution of rising expectations" in backward countries, and there is a sentimental belief that they can become independent practicing republics by fiat. It isn't that easy. So far few of them have given any evidence that money spent in helping them would be anything but wasted.

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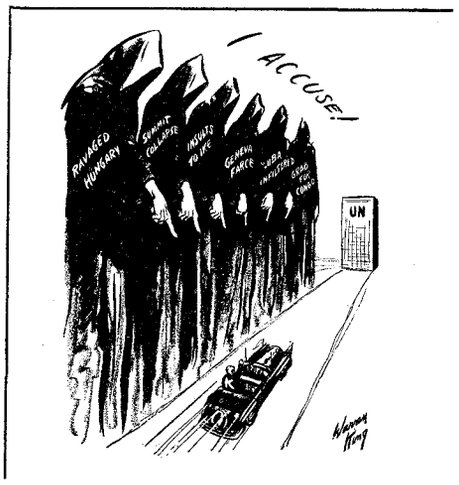

It Can Happen Here

From the Chicago Daily News

A few years back, Bolivia seized the tin mines that are the mainstay of the country's economy. The "tin barons" were ousted and the government set up a commission to run the mines.

One result: the two biggest mines, which formerly produced 850 tons of ore monthly with 7,000 employes, now produce 350 tons with 12,000 employes. A similar pattern prevails throughout the industry, with disastrous results to the nation's economic welfare.

The rabid government-enterprisers might take some note of this record as they push their pet programs for more and more political control of natural resources and industry. But they probably won't.

Shot Gun Diplomacy

The Russians shot down an American RB47 over the Barents Sea, and repeated the performance by shooting down an American resolution with a veto in the United Nations.

This is in the best Communist tradition. The Reds never argue with the opposition. They just shoot them down, in front of a wall, over the sea, or diplomatically.

—Indianapolis Star.

'Charity' Becomes A Dirty Word

From the Wall Street Journal

In the days of our childhood there were three things to abide in men forever, and the greatest of these was charity.

For charity, in those days, meant a divine love for man, the benevolence of all men of good will toward their brothers. It was kind. It envied not. It vaunted not itself. It was not puffed up. It was not gained simply by bestowing all one's goods to feed the poor, because it was a thing of the heart without which man was nothing.

Used With Dignity

So it was a word such men as Thomas Jefferson could use with dignity, deeming it the duty of each man by himself and all men joined together to show it toward their neighbors. It was an honorable word with which to bespeak the responsibility of the whole community for those among it who were old, sick or otherwise unfortunate.

But not any longer. First the word itself lost its meaning, and those who would translate the message of St. Paul were constrained to speak only of love, a word of so many meanings as to have no meaning at all.

And now finally charity has become a dirty word. In newspaper advertisements all across the land, paid from the rich coffers of the AFL-CIO, the word is spat out: Is medical care to be available for the needy as a handout—as public charity? It is a word from which good men shy as they arise to speak on the floor of the United States Senate.

No Easy Solution

There they have been speaking about a simple objective, to see that no old person goes without proper medical care because he lacks the means to provide it for himself. The question is, how?

Now this problem, be it noted, is only how to care for a small minority; among the blessings Providence has bestowed on this country is that those among us who are needy are the few, not the many. So it would not be too costly or too difficult to set up a system—even one run by the Federal Government, if that is inisisted upon—under which those in need might have a formal and orderly way to receive aid from the whole community.

Evil Connotation

But to set a standard of need, we are told, would be public charity, and charity is an evil thing. It demeans a man to have to state that he is in need. So to care for this minority some people tell us we must put the medical care of every old person, fortunate and unfortunate alike, in the hands of the Federal Government.

Well, it is true that men of pride and dignity do not welcome a situation in which they must turn to others for succor. Indeed, it is the desire not to be "beholden" that makes free men labor and save to provide for themselves and their own. But surely it is not "demeaning" for a man struck down by what he cannot help to be helped by his fellow human beings. There is no shame for the blind in being led by those who can see.

Charity for All

What is truly demeaning is for the hale man, the free and self-reliant man, to be beholden to the Federal Government for his food or his shelter or his care in sickness. For then he lives not by the charity of his fellow men in his distress but simply by taking from them. It is thus that men of good will are ashamed.

Yet that is precisely what is proposed by those who treat charity as a dirty word. If all they really sought were succor for the unfortunate, charity would provide it. What they really seek is not succor for the needy, but a way to put all men upon the same level. If they can achieve a system where the Government provides all men with their needs, then no man shall have more than another. We will all, in time, take what Government provides.

All Puffed Up

We do not know the word for this new spirit. But whatever it is, it has no kindness. It rests on envy and it vaunts itself, puffed up in the belief that it can do for all men better than all men can do for themselves. It is the same spirit that already walks across wide areas of the world, where men are but numbers to be fed, clothed and nursed for other purposes than humanity. Whatever it calls itself, it is not a thing of the heart.

And we are so old-fashioned as to wonder, if charity is to be lost to this new spirit, then how long there will abide faith in every man's dignity and the hope that here we will preserve it?

The Chicken or the Egg

From the Washington Report of the US Chamber of Commerce

Existing law requires the Secretary of Labor to set wage rates on federal construction jobs equal to those prevailing "in the city, town, village, or other civil subdivision in which work is performed."

But here's what happened recently at the Marine Base, Quantico, Virginia, some 30 miles below Washington, D. C., where a federal contract required building of 450 duplex dwelling units. Contractors listed rates prevailing for home building in the mushroom suburban areas near the base; the Department set rates paid on heavy construction—office buildings, apartments, stores—in downtown Washington. For example:

Category	Prevailing Local Rates	Federally-Set Rates
Electricians	$2.75 per hour	$4.45 per hour
Sheet Metal Workers	2.75	4.21
Plumbers	2.875	4.16
Painters	2.75	3.84

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Food Shortage Hits Red China

By Fulton Lewis, Jr.

Dissatisfaction among the populace grows in Communist China as a gigantic food shortage looms in the face of unprecedented drought in one part of the country and raging floods in another. Throughout the huge country, waves of locusts are attacking commune crops.

The Red regime is launching a major propaganda campaign to whip millions into a nationwide drive to combat the expected famine. Workers are being drafted from the cities to assist on the agricultural communes, whose production is far below expectations. Food experts declare that the average Chinese peasant is eating less than he did 25 years ago.

A year ago northern provinces suffered their worst drought in almost a century, and reports indicate the situation has continued. Peiping Radio reported recently that Honan, Hopei, Shantung, and Shansi provinces have had no rain since October.

Peiping's *People's Daily* declares that Shantung province "has been turned into a tremendous battlefield," with millions of Chinese fighting the drought. Nearly seven million acres are reported blistering in the sun. In Shansi province, scorched areas are said to number more than 3.5 million acres, and in Hopei, troops have abandoned daily drill and military exercises to help farmers with urgent irrigation work.

Attacks by locusts have been great in Hopei, Honan, Shantung, Shansi, Kansu, Anhwei, Kiangsu, Hunan and Kwangtung provinces. The Red press admits the severity of the attacks, and concedes, in the masterful understatement, that a "bumper harvest" of the spring crop is impossible.

Economic Freedom Stimulates Growth

From America's Future

Nowadays whenever one talks about freedom, the Constitution, and capitalism, a smart-aleck reply is that 'you can't eat the Constitution.'

The answer is that you cannot eat—certainly not very well—without the Constitution. This is another way of saying that it is our constitutional system, and a free economy operating under that system, which has made us the richest and most abundant land in the world. If you stop to think about it, you will realize that there are other nations which have resources and energies as great as ours. Why, then, did the United States surpass them all? Because here, for almost the first time in history, our energies and resources were released to do their amazing work in an air of freedom. And this freedom meant freedom from the oppressive and debilitating hand of Big Government.

Will Rogers Didn't Sneer

By Westbrook Pegler

I wouldn't like this new political humor with the narrow lapels even if it were funny. In comedy, my taste runs to a big red nose and baggy pants.

I know what is funny and no sneering little beatnik on any of those jerked-English weekly magazines is going to tell me that Nat Wills and Leon Errol weren't, or that Mort Sahl is.

I read that Mr. Sahl is a successor to Will Rogers. Well, how would they know? If you like Mort Sahl you wouldn't think Rogers was even faintly amusing.

Rogers made his reputation in a happy country under the Republicans when humor was joyous, not consistently hateful, cynical and sordid. The homosexual and psychopathic veins of merriment were just beginning to be heard on-stage as sneak jokes, ad-libbed by Broadway guttersnipes.

The vaudeville houses always had a sign backstage, "Keep it Clean!" The Republicans ran a clean country.

New Trend Toward Conservatism Is Growing On College Campuses

From the Houston Chronicle

Almost unnoted until it has been brought to light in the anticipations and excitements of an election year has been the trend toward conservatism on the campuses of American colleges and universities. By comparison, during the 30's and 40's, these same campuses were the hotbeds of liberalism from which came support for those seeking greater voice of the little man, enlargement of the welfare state and labor contracts with constantly expanding "fringe benefits." But today, America's youth—at least her thinking youth as exemplified by the college student—is moving even farther to the right than his parents.

Inspired by Goldwater

And in this metamorphosis, one figure seemingly stands out as the guiding genius of the trend. He is Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.), the stalwart spokesman whose political career has been one long undeviating battle against the welfare state. Senator Goldwater is author of "The Conscience of a Conservative," a small book of three or four hours reading time in which he blueprints, step by step, his ideas on how our government has gone too far down the road and also how we can take the necessary steps back.

He's No Rabble Rouser

This book alone has rocketed him to a position of leadership among the youth in the new movement to the right. Goldwater has been repeatedly in demand as a speaker and most of the time it is as speaker for youth rallies. He is no rabble rouser. When he speaks, he avoids the inflammatory and the histronic, making his appeal to the students' sense of fairness and inherent regard for individual dignity. How solidly he holds his audiences was shown in a recent poll of 40,000 subscribers to the "Young Republican News" wherein Goldwater led 3 to 1 over his nearest rival as choice for vice-president on the Republican ticket.

A Healthy Sign

Whatever is behind this movement, it is a healthy sign that American youth is taking its politics seriously and learning to measure the worth of the candidates accordingly as the candidate measures his deeds against his expressed ideas. It also is a sign that today's youth is not accepting the old shibboleths of the welfare-staters without asking for the proofs. When this new generation comes of age, it is quite likely that they will be instrumental in leading us back to the solid concepts of government where no restraints are placed on individual merit and private enterprise.

Washington's 3rd Party

The Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone company includes a sprightly little newspaper with its monthly bills for Washington subscribers. The publication notes that in the nation's capital there are three great American parties —Republican, Democratic, and cocktail.

—Walter Trohan.

Brainwashed

Harry Schneider of the internal revenue bureau tells of the gentle old lady who came to the bureau to pay her income tax.

"I do hope," she told the clerk, "that you'll give my money to some nice country." —Chicago Tribune.

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Worried Walter Backs Jack In Bid for White House Ally

By Victor Riesel

There was a moment when Walter Reuther fought until he was the last man in his group for the nomination of Dwight D. Eisenhower for the presidency on the Democratic ticket. That was in 1948. Reuther had nothing personal against Harry S. Truman. The young auto union leader just didn't think Mr. Truman could win. Reuther believed Eisenhower could.

Truman Was Ally

Reuther—and the other union chiefs who then telephoned Justice William O. Douglas with a plea to fight Truman—wanted an ally in the White House. They got that ally. Harry Truman forgave and forgot. He even seized the steel mills for the strikers during his last year in office.

Then came 8 years of Eisenhower labor-management neutrality.

Labor learned that it could win a national strike only when the White House lifted that neutrality.

Today, Reuther, the most whirlwindish strategist of them all, sees labor's last chance to wipe out that type of neutrality and win another HST-FDR type of White House ally.

Showdown Forecast

Furthermore, Reuther sees this chance at the beginning of a decade in which post-war normalcy will bring the toughest showdowns between labor and management.

There you have the basic domestic story of this presidential campaign.

Earlier this summer, Reuther put it tersely this way to his colleague, Emil Rieve, an AFL-CIO vice president, when Rieve asked him why he was so enthusiastic about John Kennedy:

"We've got to have a Democratic Administration in the White House, Emil. We've been on the outside for eight years and we don't want more situations like the steel strike. We're going to have a lot of difficulty with management from now on."

Reuther is thinking of far more than his own union, though its contracts expire in just one year with the big three of the auto industry and he'll be swinging into headline-making negotiations in less than six months.

Reuther knows that labor's political and social strength rests on its industrial strength. And without success on the labor-management front, labor's philosophical and ideological programs might as well be sealed under glass in the Smithsonian as a museum piece.

Thus it was Reuther, with an assist from the Steel Union chief, Dave McDonald, who soothed the bristling union men in Los Angeles after Lyndon Johnson's nomination. It should be added that Reuther did this, too, because he had been working quietly with Johnson and Rayburn on the Hill and they were allies.

On The Campaign Trail

Thus it is Reuther who has taken on the toughest campaign schedule of any labor leader. He has already booked himself for over 50 major speeches beginning in early September. He will be arranging considerable television time. His entire union is being organized as a national campaign machine for the duration. His brother, Roy, already is deep in the heart of the Kennedy campaign organization.

There is nothing melodramatic about this "last chance" theory. Just scan swiftly the presidential years since 1944. Then the labor politicos wanted Henry Wallace as vice presidential candidate.

Many—and I was with two of them in the White House talking with FDR in October of that year—believed Mr. Roosevelt would not last six months. That would have made Wallace President. But Mr. Truman got it. And he did it again in '48.

In '52 and '56 the labor people endorsed and lost.

They Wanted Kennedy

But that was to a global war hero. Now for the first time since labor built its national campaign machinery, it has been able to get the man it wants. Now for the first time there is no Eisenhower opposing them. Now for the first time it is organization against organization. They against Richard Nixon.

If they lose, they lose more than an ally. They lose the prestige and influence which springs from the ability to deliver.

Realist Nixon 'Runs Scared'

By Raymond Moley

Vice President Nixon's statement that he is "running scared" should not be taken, nor is it generally taken, in its literal sense. He eagerly sought this nomination and has confidence in his capacity to exert whatever effort is needed to win the election. But there is a certain realism in the man which never takes things for granted. Life has presented him with many problems the outcome of which could not confidently be predicted. His habit has been to face the realities and to make every possible preparation for what there is to do. Moreover, his experience has taught him that in politics the unexpected is almost normal routine.

Overconfidence Dangerous

Above all, he knows that to permit himself the slightest indication of overconfidence would be to lessen the energies of party workers over the country. In a political campaign it is easy for a state, county, or local chairman, when he has labored hard for months, to fail in some detail simply because he believes it to be unnecessary. These little lapses, when multiplied many-fold, make the big difference in the result. A few hundred votes may swing a state, and a state may change the result of a Presidential election.

Nixon is an organization man. He is much more convinced that organization is the decisive element in winning an election than was Willkie, Dewey, or Eisenhower. That seems strange in the case of Dewey, who was an exacting and efficient administrator when he was a district attorney and Governor of New York. But he had little faith in the capacities of the county chairmen in his state and often slighted them. Moreover, he was a constant critic of his own party.

Nixon Remembers '48

Nothing has so impressed Nixon as the fiasco in 1948. At that time, deluded by polls, Candidate Dewey and those who were intimately connected with him in the campaign were as serene as a lion that has just captured a deer and is preparing to eat it. But underneath it all, his party workers were sharing his complacency and, as it proved, several hundreds of thousands of conservatives in the Republican Party were losing all interest in what Dewey and his running mate were saying. On the other side, New Deal Democrats and labor union leaders were scouring their areas, getting people to register and to vote.

Socialism In Its Place

The conservative is a sworn enemy of Socialism for, as someone once put it: "Socialism will work only in two places: in Heaven, where they don't need it, and in hell, where they've already got it."

—Sid Fuller.

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Vol. XVII, No. 38 — Section III

HUMAN EVENTS

September 22, 1960

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20 Questions About Dick Nixon

Is Mrs. Nixon (maiden name Patricia Ryan) a "fallen-away" Catholic?

Answer: No. She was born a Methodist. Neither her Connecticut Irish father nor her German ancestry mother was Catholic.

What church do the Nixons attend?

Answer: They belong to the East Whittier Friends (Quaker) Church in California, but in Washington they attend the nearby Metropolitan Methodist Church. The two daughters, Julie, 12, and Tricia, 14, attend the Sidwell Friends (Quaker) School in Washington.

Is Nixon anti-Semitic, as has been sometimes charged?

Answer: The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith investigated this charge and gave Nixon a clean bill of health—in 1952, 1956 and 1960.

Nixon was given an honorary degree by Yeshiva University in Israel in 1957.

How much did the Nixons pay for the two Washington houses they've lived in?

Answer: The first house, at 4801 Tilden Street, N. W. (Spring Valley section), was purchased on July 5, 1951, and cost $41,000, subject to a mortgage of $20,000. That was sold and the second home at 4308 Forest Lane, N. W. (Wesley Heights section), bought on February 13, 1957, cost $75,000, subject to a $50,000 mortgage.

Did the purchase contracts for the two homes contain a clause forbidding their sale to Negroes, Jews, etc.?

Answer: Nixon's headquarters supplies this statement:

"Certain restrictive covenants purport to run with the land in the area of both of these homes, as in many other areas in Washington. However, the effect of these covenants is meaningless since their enforcement in any court of law has been declared to be unconstitutional by decisions of the United States Supreme Court in May, 1948, which was **before** the Vice President purchased either home.

"The deed covering the Spring Valley property which was signed by the Vice President (then a United States Senator) in 1951 contained the text of the restrictive covenant. (It is worth noting that many prominent Washington officials such as Senator Estes Kefauver and Senator John Sparkman also signed similar deeds.)

"The contract of purchase and the deed of trust which were signed by the Vice President in 1957 for the Wesley Heights property do not recite the contents of the restrictive covenant, although both documents contain a clause that the property is 'subject to the covenants of record.'

"The Vice President has publicly stated on several occasions that he considers that neither he nor others who live in the area are bound by such covenants and that they have no moral or legal effect so far as he is concerned. As a matter of fact, there are several families of Jewish faith who own or rent property in this area."

What is Nixon's salary as Vice President and what is his present wealth?

Answer: The Vice President's gross salary is $35,000 a year, plus a non-taxable $10,000 expense allowance.

In Nixon's famous "Checkers" speech in 1952 answering the "Nixon Fund" charge, he reported what his personal finances were at that time: a $41,000 home in Washington with a $20,000 mortgage; a $13,000 home in Whittier with a $10,000 mortgage, where his parents lived. His debts were $4,500 to the Riggs National Bank in Washington; $3,500 to his parents, and $500 against a $4,000 insurance policy. He added: "I own a 1950 Oldsmobile car. We have our furniture. We have no stocks and bonds of any kind." Pat Nixon had inherited $3,000; he, himself, $1,500. Speaking of the years 1947-52, he said he had earned an average of $1,500 a year from non-political speaking engagements. He had received $1,600 over the previous six years from estates which were in his law firm at the time he resigned.

When Earl Mazo, while doing the research for his book *Richard Nixon*, asked the Vice President what his current (1959) status was, Nixon replied:

"I own no stocks or bonds, which was the same situation when I came to Congress [in 1946]. The only real property I have an interest in is in the house in which I live on Forest Lane in Washington. The purchase price was $75,000, and I have a $50,000 mortgage on it with interest at 5 per cent. In addition to that, we have only that amount of money in the bank which is necessary for current expenses. I have my retirement which I contribute to on the same basis as members of the Senate. [He pays $218.75 a month and will be eligible for a pension of about $15,000 a year when he is 60.]

"I have increased my life insurance, but I have increased it in what you call term insurance. On this basis you get far more coverage for your money, but get nothing back unless you die. [His family is protected with $39,000 in ordinary life insurance, including the GI policy, which he kept, plus about $50,000 in term insurance with private companies and a $40,000 Senate group insurance policy.] The only other things I have are a 1955 Oldsmobile, our furniture, and what one columnist likes to refer to as 'the fabulous gifts' I have received on my trips around the world. I own no real estate other than my house. I don't own a lot, a piece of land any place. My wife owns nothing. We live actually on the basis that we spend everything that we get in. That is the way it has to be if I am to do my job properly."

What was the "Nixon Fund" story?

Answer: After Nixon's election to the Senate in 1950, a group of his financial supporters decided that since he was a poor man, a special fund ought to be raised to be used solely for political propaganda in his behalf, including his expenses returning to the state to make political speeches.

The sum of $18,000 was raised and an accounting of the receipts and expenditures was made to the donors.

After the "exposure," liberal columnists shrieked that it was a "secret" fund. The truth is that an ad was run in the newspapers asking for contributions. When an opposition Washington correspondent asked about the fund, Nixon instantly gave him the name and phone number of the treasurer, saying, "He'll tell you all about it." Which he did.

The first story—syndicated to 300 dailies—received little attention.

Not until the New York *Post* devoted its entire front page to the headlines insinuating criminal intentions did the rest of the press think it important. Then Ike's insiders panicked and demanded

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that Nixon get off the ticket. Only the uncompromising support of a few men like Senator Taft and National GOP Chairman Arthur Summerfield prevented Ike, a political novice, from asking for Nixon's withdrawal. Because of them, Nixon was given a chance to defend himself on television; the famous "Checkers" speech brought a million messages of enthusiastic support.

Later came out the story of "the Stevenson fund." As governor of Illinois, Adlai had decided that several of his key men needed more income than the salaries paid them by the state. He persuaded wealthy Democrats to contribute to a fund which he would divide up among these officials. If contributors to the "Nixon Fund" expected favors in return—which was denied—so naturally would the contributors to "the Stevenson Fund." The issue died immediately except that liberal columnists choke every time they think of "Checkers."

The use of his dog "Checkers" in the Vice President's 1952 television defense of the "Nixon Fund" is referred to as a "cheap demagogic trick" by liberal columnists. Where did Nixon get the "Checkers" idea?

Answer: From the use of "Fala" by the liberal idol FDR. In 1944, an obscure Republican Congressman named Knutson falsely charged FDR with sending a destroyer back to Alaska to pick up "Fala" who, said Knutson, had been inadvertently left behind by FDR when he went there on a defense inspection tour in mid-1944. FDR spotlighted the "Fala" falsehood in his address opening the Presidential campaign in 1944. Roosevelt deliberately avoided mentioning that the charge was made by an obscure Congressman, and he carefully built up the impression that it had been made by either his opponent Governor Dewey, or by a Dewey lieutenant. Incidentally, the address was made before FDR's favorite audience for opening a campaign, the Teamsters' Union which was no less corrupt, dictatorial and violent then than it is now. The fact that the Teamsters' Union was FDR's "teacher's pet" is never mentioned today by liberal columnists.

What are the relations between Nixon and Chief Justice Warren?

Answer: Very, very cool. In 1946, Governor Earl Warren, ostensibly the State of California's Republican leader, refused to support Nixon as Republican nominee for Congress. Warren was angry that the Democratic incumbent, Jerry Voorhis, should have to face a Republican opponent. A very flattering letter from Warren to Voorhis was used to help Voorhis. Despite GOP pleas, Warren refused to say that the letter was not intended for campaign use. Warren, always wooing labor, strenuously objected to Nixon's making Voorhis' pro-labor voting record the principal issue in the campaign.

Warren became even more hostile when Nixon, after becoming a Congressman, accepted a place on the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Warren said "No, no, no!" when the question of making communism an issue was raised in the 1948 Presidential campaign. Nixon's exposure of Alger Hiss did not increase his stature in Warren's mind.

In the Senate race between Nixon and Mrs. Douglas, Warren again refused to endorse Nixon. Warren thought it more important to get Douglas supporters to vote for himself than to help anyone else on the Republican ticket.

After Earl Mazo's book *Richard Nixon* was published, Mazo was introduced to Warren at a big Washington cocktail party. Despite the fact that he had not read the book, the Chief Justice loudly denounced Mazo as a spreader of lies.

Did Nixon during the 1952 campaign call Truman "a traitor"?

Answer: He did not. The charge is based upon a report of a Nixon speech printed by the New York *Times* of October 28, 1952, p. 14. Nixon, according to the New York *Times*, termed Truman "a traitor to the highest principles of the Democratic party," which is really pantywaist language compared to the scorchers used by Truman to describe those with whom he differs. But the supersensitive Truman never stops insisting that the statement above is the same as calling him "a traitor to his country."

Is it true that a GOP committee in 1946 ran an ad asking for a candidate to run for Congress and Nixon replied and was chosen?

It is not true that a committee ran a newspaper ad asking for applications from persons willing to run for Congress. A Committee of One Hundred in the district sought to find a suitable candidate, preferably a young man with a good war record. The Big Wheels in the district declined because the chances of defeating Jerry Voorhis, the 5-term Democratic incumbent, looked nil. The first invitation was extended to Walter F. Dexter, former president of Whittier College who had become state superintendent of instruction. After he said "no," Nixon's name was brought up. He was interviewed by the Committee, made a good impression, and was chosen.

The left-wing New Yorker author, Richard Rovere, wrote in Harper's that Nixon became a Republican in 1946 only to run for Congress. True or false?

Answer: False. Nixon registered as a Republican in 1938—at age 25—and consistently voted Republican thereafter.

Nixon is accused of defeating Democratic Congressman Voorhis in 1946 as a result of a "boiler room" operation in which thousands of voters received telephone calls saying: "I can't tell you who I am, but I think you should know that Congressman Voorhis is a Communist. Vote for Nixon." IS THIS STORY TRUE?

Answer: It is completely false. The story was not even invented until 1952, six years after it was alleged to have happened, when it was first printed—as an example of Nixon's "viciousness." Voorhis says he never heard of any such mass operation in 1946.

Murray Chotiner, Nixon's campaign adviser, told Stewart Alsop (p. 142, *Nixon and Rockefeller*) that it would be impossible to keep secret such a massive "anonymous telephone campaign." To have any appreciable effect in a large congressional district, said Chotiner, a large work force would have to be organized, daily telephoning thousands. Furthermore, the operation would be self-defeating; a single turncoat testifying under oath could ruin the candidate.

Chotiner added that "a lot of powerful people today would give their eye teeth to get one small bit of evidence to prove the story." Yet the story has been repeated hundreds of times in newspaper columns and magazine articles. It is published in the most widely circulated anti-Nixon book which declares the story to be "amply authenticated"—but the author supplies none of the authentication.

What about the much publicized charges that the Nixon campaign against Congressman Voorhis in 1946 was "vicious" in other ways?

Voorhis' record was that of a soft-headed Henry Wallace-type liberal with better intentions than common sense. He had been a registered Socialist; he had vigorously supported Upton Sinclair in his crackpot EPIC (End Poverty in California) race for Governor. He was a frank and articulate advocate of "funny money" and of other far-left programs. Voorhis was idolized in the egghead-beatnik-eccentric circles of that period of New York and Washington. But such a record made him highly vulnerable to opposition votes from the "average" middle class working man's family in the Whittier area of Southern California.

The little-known Nixon needed an opportunity to bring out these facts. Hardly expecting an affirmative answer, Nixon challenged Voorhis to a series of debates. The five-term Congressman accepted, thinking he would overwhelm

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his inexperienced opponent. In the five debates that followed, it was Nixon who did the overwhelming.

From an underdog position, running behind in the early polls, Nixon won decisively—by 65,586 to 49,994. Voorhis has since said there was nothing underhanded about the campaign against him. Primarily, it was forceful—a characteristic of Democratic rather than Republican campaigns. In 1948, Nixon had no trouble being reelected. He won the Democratic as well as the Republican nomination. The people at home have never accepted the assertion that Nixon was a "vicious," unscrupulous campaigner.

Mrs. Roosevelt claims that during his winning senatorial campaign against Helen Gahagan Douglas in 1950, Nixon called his opponent a Communist. What is the fact?

Answer: No one has ever produced any evidence that Nixon called Mrs. Douglas a Communist. What he did was to accuse her of Communist "associations." To accentuate that unquestioned fact, Admiral Zacharias recently wrote a letter to the New York *Herald Tribune*, recalling his observations when he was watching California Communists as a Naval Intelligence agent. "At a meeting in San Diego," he wrote, "called and directed by the Communist party leader of Los Angeles, a professor of Los Angeles City College, both Mr. and Mrs. Douglas spoke and sat on the stage with this individual . . . . So, when Mr. Nixon, in his effective efforts against Communist advances, spoke out against the ill-advised associations of his opponent, he was interested in the future security of his country as well as his own election."

Mrs. Douglas, nicknamed "the Pink Lady," was the object of scathing attack from within her own party. Among the bitterest critics were (1) the incumbent Democratic Senator, Sheridan Downey, who was retiring to private life, (2) Manchester Boddy, then publisher of the only Democratic daily newspaper in Los Angeles, the *Illustrated News*, and the leading candidate opposing Mrs. Douglas for the Democratic nomination, (3) George Creel, Woodrow Wilson's World War I Director of Information. The vigor of their opposition to Mrs. Douglas' "softness toward communism" actually surpassed that of the Republicans. Mrs. Douglas had been a consistent enemy of the House Un-American Activities Committee, voting against appropriations to keep it alive. She voted against aid to two nations desperately defending themselves against Communist penetration: Greece and Turkey.

The early polls showed Nixon behind, but he ended up victor by a majority of 670,000. The pinks and the Reds have never forgiven Nixon for the defeat of one of their darlings.

Was Nixon's Senate campaign against Helen Gahagan Douglas well-financed?

Answer: Nixon operated on a shoestring. He toured the state in a station wagon and occasionally borrowed a plane flown by an old service buddy.

How important was Nixon's role in exposing Alger Hiss?

Answer: Except for Nixon, Alger Hiss might today be considered "the innocent victim of a villainous blackguard named Whittaker Chambers." He might still be playing a powerful role in shaping US foreign policy. At the critical moment during the Hiss hearings, nearly all the other members of the House Un-American Activities Committee were ready to give up and repudiate Chambers. The large liberal press corps in Washington who had hated the Committee from the moment it started exposing Communists screamed that the Committee's reckless attack on a pure patriotic soul like Alger Hiss was the last straw. They urged that the Committee be liquidated. Several Committee members panicked and wanted to drop the case. They were keenly conscious of the fact that the Committee had been the graveyard of Congressmen who became its members. The enemies of the Committee never relented in their pressure. However, Nixon's suspicions kept the Hiss hearing alive until all the evidence was in—finally bringing a vote by the entire Committee to ask the Justice Department to seek indictment.

Is it true that Mrs. Nixon was a Democrat who was converted to Republicanism by her husband?

Answer: Pat's father was a Democrat, though he often voted for Republicans. Pat had turned Republican before she met Dick.

How are the voting records of Nixon and Kennedy rated by COPE, the political arm of AFL-CIO? By ADA?

Answer: COPE has issued to its officers a special 32-page report on the two candidates.

Kennedy served from 1947 to 1953 in the House and since then in the Senate. Nixon served from 1947 to 1951 in the House of Representatives and two years, 1951-53, in the Senate before becoming Vice President.

The September 12 issue of "Political Memo from COPE" gives a 98.4 per cent rating to Kennedy and 14.5 per cent to Nixon. To phrase it differently, the AFL-CIO considers Nixon 85.5 per cent "conservative."

On labor legislation, the AFL-CIO says Kennedy cast 22 votes—all "perfect"; Nixon cast 7 votes, all "wrong."

The scoresheets of the left-wing ADA (Americans for Democratic Action) show that from 1947 until today, on key measures, Kennedy voted "right" 89.1 per cent of the time.

Nearly all of Kennedy's "wrong" votes were cast before the Democratic convention in 1956. Then he got Presidential ambitions. Both the AFL-CIO and the ADA say that ever since, he has been a very obedient good little boy.

During Nixon's four years in the House and two years in the Senate, ADA says the Republican nominee voted "wrong" (conservative) 79 per cent of the time.

How did Nixon's voting record during his six years in Congress compare with Senator Taft's during the same period?

Answer: Senator Taft's ADA rating (1947-1952) showed 14 "right" and 62 "wrong" votes or 81.6 per cent "wrong" (by ADA's left-wing standards.) Nixon's record (see answer to previous question) was 79 per cent "wrong" (or conservative).

How many servants have the Nixons had ever since Dick became Vice President?

Answer: Two servants on a 5-day basis.

What was Nixon's war record?

Answer: Nixon joined the Navy in the spring of 1942 as lieutenant (junior grade). In 1943, he became an operations officer with the South Pacific Combat Air Transport Command. His responsibility was to get airborne cargo into combat zones—Guadalcanal, Bougainville, Vella Lavella, Green Island. He earned two South Pacific battle stars and two commendations. He was discharged in January, 1946, as a Lieutenant Commander.

In the personal characteristics and backgrounds of Kennedy and

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Nixon, what are the similarities, contrasts?

Similarities

Each has been in both the House and Senate.

Neither smokes cigarettes (Nixon upon rare occasions smokes a cigar).

Each was first elected to Congress in 1946.

Each was the youngest of his party in the Senate.

Each has Irish background (Nixon's paternal ancestors were Irish Quakers who came from Dublin).

Neither has a son. Kennedy has one daughter; Nixon has two.

Whichever is elected will be the first President born in the 20th century.

Each is the outstanding television personality of his party.

Both served in the Navy in World War II; each was on duty in the South Pacific.

Each is a member of a religion which was persecuted in colonial days.

Each went to two US colleges: Nixon to Whittier and Duke; Kennedy to Princeton and Harvard. Kennedy also attended the London School of Economics.

Contrasts

Nixon was born in poverty; Kennedy to wealth.

Nixon's secondary education was in a public high school. Kennedy's in the exclusive Choate private school.

Mrs. Nixon's family was poor; Mrs. Kennedy's (Bouvier-Auchincloss) family is very wealthy.

The candidates were born on opposite seaboards —one in California, one in Massachusetts.

Nixon came from a non-political family; Kennedy, from a very, very political family. Kennedy's maternal grandfather (John Fitzgerald) was mayor of Boston.

Nixon went to a small obscure college, Whittier, later to Duke, which was relatively small in the mid-Thirties when Nixon was there; Kennedy, to America's best known universities, Harvard and Princeton.

How does Nixon shape up against Kennedy as a sports enthusiast?

Answer: Nixon is a rabid baseball and football fan. His knowledge of current baseball players and the fine points of the game amazes athletes. Kennedy prefers playing touch football and boating.

How deep are the Nixon roots in America?

Answer: The Nixons are of Scotch-Irish stock, the predominant strain of early American colonization. Edward Nixon settled in America in the early 18th century and his two sons fought in the Revolution.

How will the "religious issue" affect Nixon's chances?

Answer: The "religious issue" will have an adverse effect upon Nixon's chances. What good would it do Nixon to carry Alabama if the issue that might win Alabama would cost him a dozen big industrial states?

If bigotry becomes the issue, a self-defense vote for Kennedy will be the inevitable reaction of the Catholic population—even of the growing number of conservative and fiercely anti-Communist Catholics who strongly object to the Democratic party's socialistic platform and to Kennedy's support of Stevenson-Bowles appeasement. Few non-Catholics realize that an astonishingly high proportion of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy do NOT want Kennedy.

To the hostile Catholic response to bigotry would be added a sharp adverse reaction among Protestants (enough to GUARANTEE Kennedy's election) if the Ku Klux Klan should build up enough support to the slogan it is offering free of charge to Protestant ministers: "A Communist in the White House would be no worse than a Catholic."

Democratic leaders are well aware of these facts. Some of the more unscrupulous politicians among them secretly hope the bigots succeed in making "religion" the featured issue. They realize that Kennedy carried West Virginia only because the central issue became: "Is 97 per cent Protestant West Virginia a bigotry state?"

North Carolina's Governor Hodges, who hopes to become Kennedy's Secretary of Commerce, is doing his best for Kennedy, saying at every opportunity that the South would vote OVERWHELMINGLY for Kennedy-Johnson—except for the religious issue. His statement is palpably false, but is intended to divert attention from the extremist Democratic platform which is the principal cause for concern to the predominantly conservative South.

Nixon expressed his attitude on "Meet the Press" September 11, saying: "I have no doubt whatever about Senator Kennedy's loyalty to his country and about the fact that if he were elected President, he would put the Constitution of the United States above any other consideration. I believe that he as a member of Congress has followed this standard. I believe he would follow that standard as President.

"I don't believe, in other words, there is a religious issue as far as Senator Kennedy is concerned . . . . "

How does Nixon rate as a performer before the television cameras?

Answer: Laurence Laurent, television critic of the anti-Nixon Washington *Post*, said, "By network standards of performance, he is the most skilled TV performer in national politics."

David Susskind, who subjected Nixon to 3½ hours of hostile questions, said Nixon did the best job of any political figure who had ever appeared on his show and he added that he, Susskind, was not a Republican.

Daryl F. Zanuck, Hollywood's No. 1 motion picture producer, called the Checkers speech "the greatest performance I have ever seen."

If the political trend in other major industrial countries should be followed in the United States, what would be the result in November?

Answer: Nixon would win and the Republican party would carry the House of Representatives. (Senate situation is different; only one-third come up for election, therefore, Democratic majority is unshakable.) In some countries, the first postwar elections went to the leftist parties; but since then, the labor-controlled socialistic parties have been going down to defeat in all the major industrial countries of the West—Australia, Japan, Canada, Great Britain, Germany, France and Italy.

This has shocked the liberals who confidently predicted during World War II that capitalism would follow feudalism into oblivion. Instead, after an era of experience with the stifling effects of labor-controlled Socialist governments, the voters have turned to the pro-capitalist parties. The sensational rise in the standard of living in all the major industrial countries has been a revelation to those among the voters who had been socialistically inclined.

Recommended Books

Richard Nixon, by Earl Mazo
Nixon and Rockefeller, by Stewart Alsop
Nixon, by Ralph DeToledano

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